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CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGIES, IN PARTICULAR AS RELATED TO CRIMES IN URBAN AREAS AND JUVENILE AND VIOLENT CRIMINALITY, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF VICTIMS: ASSESSMENT AND NEW PERSPECTIVES

Background paper for the workshop on urban policy and crime prevention**

Summary

In its resolution 1993/32, the Economic and Social Council endorsed the proposal by the Commission on Crime Prevention and Control to hold a one-day workshop on urban policy and crime prevention during the Ninth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

Current levels of crime and insecurity in cities, upward pressure on those levels and the rapid growth of urbanization in the developing countries are the motivation behind the workshop. The aim of pooling views, knowledge and experience is to promote the development and proliferation of flexible and effective models for preventing urban crime and to facilitate the development of mechanisms for cooperation and technical assistance between States. Not only should the city be envisaged as a privileged institutional framework for the definition and implementation of crime prevention policies; cooperation should also be promoted between cities. The workshop will be of interest to everyone involved in urban development: elected officials, professionals and community representatives.

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INTRODUCTION

A. Legislative context

1. The Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders adopted a resolution entitled "Prevention of urban crime"[1] and recommended a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly entitled "United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines)".[2] The latter was then adopted by the Assembly as resolution 45/112. In these resolutions, the development of multiple integrated strategies was recommended to deal with all factors related to crime, as was the implementation of those strategies according to a coordinated plan of action.

2. As a follow-up to the Ministerial Meeting on the Creation of an Effective United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme, held in Paris from 21 to 23 November 1991, the General Assembly adopted resolution 46/152. In the programme of action of the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme annexed to that resolution, the General Assembly set out to promote greater international cooperation in these areas and decided to encourage, in particular, the inclusion of workshops in future congresses.

3. In section VI of its resolution 1992/22, the Economic and Social Council identified crime prevention in urban areas and juvenile and violent criminality as one of the three priority themes that should guide the work of the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice during the period 1992-1996. The Council further underscored the need for support mechanisms to help developing countries and countries in transition to tackle these problems more effectively.

4. At its second session, the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice recommended that research and demonstration workshops should be an integral part of the Ninth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.[3] The move was aimed at making the event more tangible and more action-oriented. In its resolution 1993/32, the Economic and Social Council endorsed the proposal by the Commission that six research and demonstration workshops should be held during the Congress, including one on urban policy and crime prevention and another on the prevention of violent crime.

B. The parties concerned

5. The working group of Mediterranean States, which met initially at Vienna in April 1993, alongside the meeting of the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, was formally established in Paris on 30 March 1994 by a joint declaration of its members. In Paris, the decision was taken to prepare for the workshop on urban policy and crime prevention. At its next meeting, held in Malta in June 1994, the working group pinpointed the priority themes of the workshop and, at its Tunis meeting in September 1994, it adopted the Tunis declaration and relevant conclusions on these themes.

C. Objectives of the workshop on urban policy and crime prevention

6. In section V, paragraph 6, of resolution 1994/19, the Economic and Social Council recommended that the workshop on urban policy and crime prevention seek to identify priorities for crime prevention in urban areas and seek methods of sensitizing the authorities responsible for the different aspects of urban policy, including education, employment, alcohol and drug abuse policy, social services and urban zoning, to the importance of taking crime prevention aspects into consideration.

7. The objectives of the workshop on urban policy and crime prevention are:

(a) To report on the challenges facing cities in crime prevention;

(b) To identify crime prevention strategies and put forward a range of realistic and concrete solutions;

(c) To demonstrate the importance of integrating the various components of urban management in order to ensure the security of citizens with a view to sustainable development;

(d) To promote the adoption of policies that integrate crime prevention into government and urban priorities and support local projects;

(e) To propose ways of encouraging citizens to participate in the development and implementation of crime prevention programmes.

I. TRENDS AND CHALLENGES FOR URBAN SECURITY

8. Most major cities around the world are concerned about high crime rates and the upward trend in crime and insecurity. The finding that urban spaces are inevitably more affected by crime is particularly alarming because urbanization seems to be growing at an ever-increasing rate.

A. Growth of cities

9. In 1950, only 17 per cent of the world population lived in cities. Now almost half the people on Earth live in an urban area and, by the end of the first quarter of the next century, the proportion will be over 60 per cent.[4]

10. Urban agglomerations are also increasing in size. In 1950, only 10 cities had a population of more than five million. By 1990, that number had increased to 33, including 22 in the developing countries.

11. This trend is the result, in particular, of the migration of young people to the cities in search of work and a better life.

12. The growth rate of most large cities in developing countries creates serious problems and makes harmonious development virtually impossible.

13. Large cities in industrialized countries are faced with huge problems caused by crumbling infrastructures, often accompanied by an ageing population and a weakening economy.

14. Because of their size, megalopolises pose problems that are hard to overcome. The quantitative changes in these cities of more than 20 million inhabitants eventually trigger qualitative changes.

15. Alongside urban development, insecurity is increasing in many countries. Even if we disregard exceptional domestic situations connected with specific political events, a comparison between countries reveals a wide variety of situations. The number of intentional homicides is around 1.4 per 100,000 people in France and 2.5 in Italy, for example, but 11.5 in North America, 0.6 in Malta and 0.9 in Japan. The prison population is about 80 per 100,000 inhabitants in France, 24 in Greece and 58 in Portugal, but 426 in the United States of America and 201 in all the States members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.[5]

B. Urban security and sustainable development

16. The first principle of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development[6] states that "human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life

in harmony with nature". Sustainable development is also aimed at reconciling the developmental and environmental needs of present and future generations (principle 3), in particular through social, economic and educational concerns. It is in this context that the United Nations Development Programme makes human security a central element.

17. Moreover, the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders listed, in its resolution 1, the key factors conducive to crime and insecurity.[7]

18. In cities that are growing rapidly, with a large influx of new arrivals from different sources, several of these factors tend to come together. Population movements (a drift from the countryside or international migration) generally give rise to the creation of urban agglomerations. These movements can lead to a breakdown of family and social structures, since migrants often decide to set off on their own from their home environment. Then, uprooted, they run into greater integration problems, caused by inappropriate training, illegal status with no hope of finding stable employment in the immediate future, anonymity, segregation in pockets of poverty and the dissolution of family ties. In all, there are thought to be between 15 and 30 million immigrants around the world. The Mediterranean basin is the scene of large-scale south-north population movements.

19. The relationship between some of these factors and the figures given above sheds light on why most large cities have a crime rate that is often considered intolerable. The overall victimization rates are higher in more urbanized countries and in larger cities, except in Japan.[8]

20. There are many sources of insecurity in cities and they are amplified by the media coverage of crime, which seriously distorts people's perceptions of it. The most sordid crimes are the ones that appear on the front pages, even though the crimes may very well have been committed far away from the area in which the paper's readers live. This often generates an excessive feeling of insecurity compared with the actual risk of becoming a victim. Acts of rudeness, which in themselves are not crimes, add to the concern. Anonymity and lack of contact with neighbours heighten the sense of isolation and vulnerability. Ignorance and rumour fuel prejudice and make ethnic, cultural and ideological diversity seem threatening. In addition, the concentration of certain types of business, street gangs, prostitution, drug dealing and vandalism deny people the right to quiet enjoyment of public spaces.

21. Urban crime also has an impact on economic development. The abandonment of neighbourhoods by the most worthwhile elements of the population, a drop in the number of customers and the risk of break-ins and armed robbery drive businesses out. House values drop and buildings deteriorate. Urban service departments spend less and less on maintaining and upgrading ageing and vandalized infrastructures. Industries opt for other sites because these areas can no longer provide the labour force they need and the physical conditions in which they can operate. The juxtaposition of these pockets of poverty and more affluent areas generates envy on one side and fear on the other.

22. In more general terms, the impact of urban crime on individuals and the community is clearly at odds with the principles and objectives of sustainable development. For crime prevention purposes, however, the city is a privileged sphere of action. This was indicated in the declaration adopted at Tunis by the working group of Mediterranean States to the effect that the cities, which have become the focus of major insecurity and crime problems, should be a proving ground for effective crime prevention policies. But the municipal authorities cannot act alone. Local action, as close as possible to the citizens, will be all the more effective if associations back it up with their own activities and it would be even better if these be sustained by national support, in the context of general projects.

II. CITIES AND CRIME PREVENTION

A. The limits of criminal justice

23. Attempts to prevent crime simply by recruiting still more police officers, introducing better methods of law enforcement, imposing harsher sentences and building more prisons have proved disappointing. Police statistics, surveys of people's experiences as victims and polls aimed at measuring how safe people feel all indicate that the situation has worsened steadily over the past three decades. Law enforcement and punitive measures are not enough to eliminate the factors responsible for crime. They are also limited by the respect for basic rights.

24. Consequently, although the individual's personal responsibility and free will cannot be denied, it seems clear that preventive measures must take account of the needs of the underprivileged. Specific policies to promote access to education, decent housing, health care, work and culture could have a great impact on the level and nature of crime.

25. This view is corroborated in the Guiding Principles for Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in the Content of Development and a New International Economic Order, Plan of Action in which the recommendation is made that "New directions and approaches should be explored ... regarding concepts, measures, procedures and institutions of crime prevention and criminal justice".[9]

B. The central role of cities in crime prevention

26. In the Final Declaration, "Agenda for Safer Cities" of the first European and North American Conference on Urban Safety and Crime Prevention, held at Montreal in 1989, the central role played by cities in crime prevention is spelled out:

> "The community is the focal point of crime prevention. Governments at all levels must nurture community-based anti-crime efforts.
>
> "We must go beyond a response by our criminal justice system - police, courts and corrections - if we are to prevent crime in our cities. Our response must be part of a long-range approach, yet be responsive to immediate needs.
>
> "Crime prevention must bring together those responsible for housing, social services, recreation, schools, policing and justice to tackle the situations that breed crime.
>
> "Elected officials at all levels must exert political leadership and assume responsibility to prevent urban crime. Without this, our belief in community, the quality of life in our cities and human rights can be threatened.
>
> "Crime prevention must be supported by the whole society. Political leaders should encourage a feeling of solidarity among community members."[10]

27. These ideas were further then developed at the Second Conference, held in Paris in November 1991. The key principles set out above have won the support of the United Nations and were substantially adopted in resolution 1 of the Eighth Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.[1] They were discussed in further detail at the Ministerial Meeting in Paris in November 1991.

C. Areas in which cities can take effective action

28. Prevention means that action has to be taken at the source. It is important to identify the factors responsible for crime and insecurity, set priorities, commit resources and use appropriate types of action to modify the criminogenic potential of the city.

29. The diversity of the factors associated with higher crime rates has led theorists and specialists to distinguish between different and complementary preventive strategies. This distinction has given rise to the development of many types of prevention, all of which have strengths and weaknesses. The consensus is, however, that there are three broad areas to be targeted, where action could well help to prevent crime:

(a) The risk of becoming a victim, associated with the actual presence of situations conducive to the commission of an offence;

(b) The somewhat oblique, but definite, impact of the redistribution of wealth (employment, health, education, housing etc.) on crime levels;

(c) Social values, the means by which they are conveyed and the extent to which they are shared, particularly in the family, and the cohesiveness and organization of the community.

30. Social values, social organization and opportunities for crime feed off one another. Evaluation and experience in implementing preventive measures show that the most effective action combines these three parameters.

1. Opportunities for crime

31. A situational analysis of crime assumes that offenders usually make fairly rational choices and look for the easiest, least dangerous and most viable opportunities to commit a crime. The following measures can usefully be considered:

(a) Measures that make the offender's task more difficult:

(i) Better target protection (anti-theft systems in cars, protective screens in stores, good-quality padlocks for bicycles etc.);

(ii) Controlled access (locked gates, personal identity numbers etc.);

(iii) Keeping offenders at a distance (siting of outlets for alcohol etc.);

(iv) Control of facilitating factors (firearm control, photographs on credit cards etc.);

(b) Measures that increase the risk for the offender:

(i) Monitoring of movements (luggage searches in airports, magnetic labels on goods in stores etc.);

(ii) Formal surveillance (police patrols, guards, security cameras etc.);

(iii) Surveillance by employees (building caretakers, park monitors etc.);

(iv) Natural surveillance (trimmed hedges, street and house lighting, layout of parks etc.);

(c) Measures that make it less advantageous to commit an offence:

(i) Reduced target value (less cash in cash registers, payment by debit or credit card, coding of car radios etc.);

(ii) Identification of property (engraving of electronic devices, identification of car parts etc.);

(iii) Elimination of incentives (removal of graffiti, prompt repair of damage caused by vandals etc.).

32. The evaluation of the effect of these measures on crime has been rather positive. The reservation has been made that their are particular effectiveness lies in reducing occasional petty crimes and crimes against property but this in no way detracts from their impact, since a significant amount of urban crime consists precisely of this type of crime, which is largely responsible for people's feelings of insecurity.

33. In any case, the cities, with their special attributes and responsibilities, are in a very good position to deal with situational factors. They are particularly well placed to act in all matters of urban planning and zoning and building regulations.

2. Social development

34. Crime rates have been found to be higher in societies where wealth is very unevenly distributed and where the access to education, employment, health and culture is very unequal. Strategies that tackle social and economic disparity have demonstrated the close connection between hardship and social maladjustment and deviance. A round-table meeting on crime prevention, held at Quebec in 1993, concluded that social inequality and relative poverty were the backdrop against which most family, school and neighbourhood dramas were played out: young people who had been neglected or abused by their families, were having problems in school or had been exposed to bad examples in their neighbourhood quickly learned to become delinquent, especially since there were plenty of easy opportunities. Crime would become a way of life for about 1 per cent of the adolescent population.[11]

35. We also know that many offences (between 50 and 70 per cent, depending on the study)[12] are committed by fewer than 10 per cent of the offenders and that the more deeply an individual becomes involved in a life of crime, the more serious his or her offences are likely to become. These figures confirm the importance of the United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines),[2] in which social development questions relating to crime prevention are focused primarily on young people at home, at school and in their neighbourhood.

36. In view of the limits to what can be done in the way of situational prevention, measures to redistribute wealth would seem to be essential. They should take into account the views of those involved in crime prevention, above all as regards crime trends.

37. It is here that the city can show its intrinsic capabilities. Although the responsibilities of cities may vary from one State to another, city government is the one closest to the people and is able to understand local needs, adapt national or regional programmes accordingly, recruit competent people and win public support for initiatives.

3. Culture and citizenship: community values and cohesiveness

38. The responsibility of individuals and communities cannot be completely dissociated from the phenomenon of crime. Behind every offence there is an element of free will: not everyone faced with

difficult social conditions chooses a deviant lifestyle. Similarly, not all criminals come from a disadvantaged background. Beyond these conditions, the values embraced by individuals and communities will play a decisive role.

39. Ultimately, the objective is to ensure that people are once again in control of their lives, something Americans call "empowerment". This calls for the successful integration of individuals into the community and the creation of the right conditions to enable them to take up a rewarding activity. By the same token, it fosters a better balance between rights and obligations, a greater sense of responsibility and a culture based on citizenship.

40. In preparing for this workshop, the working group of Mediterranean States considered modalities for specific action in the areas of culture and citizenship, which could perform the following functions:

(a) To protect and raise the status of the citizen and the individual in each society;

(b) To promote a consensus with regard to values and rules in social life, by developing an awareness of rights and duties;

(c) To discourage behaviour that jeopardizes these values and rules;

(d) To bring about a society in which tolerance prevails.

41. These functions are based on a number of universally accepted common values, in particular:

(a) Positive participation in communal life;

(b) Tolerance of and respect for others (including respect for physical and moral integrity);

(c) Respect for the public good.

42. The priority target sectors of the population would be:

(a) Children and young people, the citizens of tomorrow, who will transmit knowledge to future generations;

(b) Families, which serve as a first introduction to social life.

43. While certain parties would be more closely involved in disseminating these values, they would be relayed by the whole of society:

(a) The family (in the broad sense);

(b) The State, through its various institutions;

(c) Schools and training bodies;

(d) Socio-educational institutions;

(e) Local communities.

44. Cultural and citizenship values are not merely subjects for study and theoretical apprenticeship; they must be constantly emphasized so that they eventually become firmly established. This is why the methods, media and places used to disseminate these values, including teaching of the humanities, civic instruction, foreign languages, socio-cultural activities or sport, must promote their ongoing practice and transmission to future generations. Once again, however, the city is the ideal framework within which to promote, encourage and support the growth of these solid virtues. The city is closer to the people and best placed to offer them opportunities for local involvement.

III. GOVERNMENT MOBILIZATION AND SUPPORT

45. As highlighted in the Montreal and Paris Declarations (see paragraph 26 above) the necessity of government support for the cities' initiatives cannot be underestimated. In a number of countries, this vision and support have led to the adoption of appropriate legislation, the creation of national crime prevention councils and the granting of adequate funding to cities and specialized organizations. The following are a few examples of this trend.

46. In Canada, a council was established in July 1994 as the key element of the Canadian strategy for community security and crime prevention. The council has 25 members from various sectors associated with crime prevention. Its role is to advise the Government on the national strategy, publicize research findings and principal accomplishments, generate public awareness and investigate specific issues by means of ad hoc task forces. The 1993 round-table meeting on crime prevention recommended giving priority to city initiatives and proposed shared-cost contracts between the Government and the cities and a pilot project programme.

47. In August 1994, the United States passed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (Crime Bill), in response to demands by American mayors and chiefs of police that the country enact a law to ensure a better balance between the prevention and the suppression of crime in the communities. The Justice Department is also financing a national crime prevention council. This is a private organization, which publishes documents on prevention-related subjects, offers training courses and technical assistance, works closely with cities and communities and acts as the secretariat for the Crime Prevention Coalition, an association of over 120 organizations devoted to prevention. With the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, it also plays a leading prevention role among young people.

48. On the initiative of the Attorney-General of the Republic and the Government Procurator for the Federal District, Mexico has just created a crime prevention commission. Its function, in collaboration with the cities, is to strengthen the culture of prevention in the population and to encourage the involvement of governmental and non-governmental organizations, businesses and unions. It is also pursuing an intensive media campaign to promote preventive measures.

49. In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, alongside the Home Office, which is deeply committed to crime prevention, the Safer Cities Programme offers financial and technical assistance to the most run-down districts in 40 major cities and the National Board for Crime Prevention endeavours to ensure local and national participation by all sectors of society in crime prevention.

50. Belgium has set up a permanent crime prevention secretariat in its Ministry of the Interior, particularly to analyse crime and its causes, co-finance crime prevention projects with cities, provide cities with crime prevention consultants and evaluate the results of these initiatives.

51. Prompted by the recommendations of the Bonnemaison Commission, which, in 1982 provided a forum for mayors to study the problems of urban insecurity, the Government of France in 1983 created a national

crime prevention council, chaired by the Prime Minister and including members of the National Assembly, ministers, mayors, community representatives and experts. The council has since been integrated with the interministerial group for urban matters, which promotes over 700 local crime prevention councils. The success of these local councils is largely attributable to local dynamism, but much of it depends on the funding made possible by the city contracts offered by the State.

52. On the basis of the Roethof Report, in 1985 the Netherlands created an interministerial committee on the social prevention of crime, which has co-funded over 200 projects, each required to allocate 10 per cent of its funding to an evaluation of the initiatives undertaken. In 1989, a crime prevention directorate was set up in the Ministry of Justice. In conjunction with other ministries, it regulates the private security industry.

53. In 1994, Senegal devoted a meeting of the council of ministers to the subject of insecurity in poor districts and held a seminar, under the aegis of the Ministry of Employment and Occupational Training and the Ministry of Youth and Sport, to examine ways of promoting employment, hygiene and justice in densely populated districts, on the premise that the suburbs are a vacuum that attracts crime.[13]

54. In December 1993, the Czech Republic established an executive committee for crime prevention, made up of the ministers for the interior, employment and social affairs, education and youth, health, justice and defence, along with the State prosecutor. The committee's main mandate is to establish an integrated prevention strategy, based on experts' reports and on international cooperation, by developing assessment methods and supporting local efforts.

55. In Australia, as the result of an agreement between the Prime Minister and the states, the National Committee on Violence was formed and charged with examining crime and its causes, with prevention in mind. One of its recommendations led to the establishment of a violence prevention unit and the implementation of important programmes, using an approach inspired by the French model. At state level, South Australia has appointed a minister for crime prevention.

56. Further to the Roper Report (1987), in 1990 New Zealand set up the Prime Ministerial Safer City Council and approved the launching of four major regional pilot projects. The Crime Prevention Unit was established in September 1993, primarily to develop crime prevention strategies. This approach is essentially based on the assumption by the central Government of responsibility for legislation, interdepartmental coordination, development, research and evaluation and is focused on the development of a partnership with local communities, by recognizing their essential role, supporting their activities and respecting their individual characteristics.

IV. SUCCESSFUL INITIATIVES

57. In line with the recommendations of the Commission for Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, the workshop on urban policy and crime prevention should focus on achievements that meet some of the following criteria:

(a) The programmes have been shown to be effective in reducing some types of urban crime;

(b) The conditions under which they were implemented are well documented and they can be reproduced in other contexts;

(c) They could lead to technical cooperation between States and the cities in those States.

58. The following topics, closely related to the factors associated with urban crime and insecurity and the range of actions that can be taken by cities, have been selected for the workshop:

(a) City policy and local coordination mechanisms;

(b) The role of urban management and planning in crime prevention;

(c) Community-based services;

(d) Innovative practices in police departments and criminal justice systems.

A. Local coordination mechanisms

59. The local coordination mechanisms designed to relieve people's sense of insecurity and reduce crime in cities, represent approaches based on participation by citizens and community organizations. These are partnership and multidisciplinary attempts to analyse problems and implement solutions, bringing together those involved in family policy, health, employment, housing, social services, recreation, schools, police and justice and citizens' organizations. They share an integrative vision of the areas that demand simultaneous priority action.

60. The novelty of the French approach in this field lies in the duplication of local efforts by those of the department, the traditional focus of administrative decentralization, in which the State is effectively and permanently represented through its city policy. The departmental structures use numerous local and national diagnostic and evaluation techniques.

61. The mechanism involves local crime prevention councils, headed by the mayor and comprising the various State services, elected officials and all partners involved locally in prevention, together with the departmental prevention councils of the 95 departments of France, chaired by the prefect and co-chaired by the *Procureur de la République* and the chairman of the local administrative council.

62. The departmental security plans involve cooperative interaction between the authority of the prefect, responsible for public order and police prevention activities, and the judicial authority, responsible for criminal policy and law enforcement, and coordinate the activities of the services responsible for security.

63. The prevention programmes are usually initiated and established by the local authorities and guided by a representative of the State, at the departmental level. The aim is to prompt regular contacts in order to study achievements and evaluations. People engaged in other areas of activity, such as teaching, sport and culture, who are also active in this field, are often included in these initiatives.

64. For Marseilles, the city, the State and the social partners have drawn up a "city contract", to indicate their willingness to act against social and urban exclusion, stressing the need for a rigorous integration policy for the immigrant populations. The five objectives are: completion of school, paid employment, crime prevention, integration through the development of sport, culture and recreation, and urban renewal.

65. These initiatives have done a great deal to diminish the sense of insecurity, cut crime and recidivism and integrate persons living in difficult circumstances.

66. The Barcelona mayor's office set up an urban security council in 1983. This was prompted by the desire to confront the challenge of urban security by tackling the social and material causes of crime, calling on the skills of all sectors of intervention and associating citizens closely in the initiative, which was intended to be voluntarily participatory, multidisciplinary and collaborative. In addition to the sustained evaluation

and analysis of crime trends, the refinement of police coordination methods and liaison with social development officials, the council has been responsible for promoting prevention and security councils in districts or neighbourhoods, chaired by local elected officials and consisting of representatives of community agencies, young people's organizations, the business community and professionals. This partnership was essential so that consensus could be reached on the measures to be chosen and collective responses could be adopted, to counterbalance solely punitive responses and the adoption by individuals of personal self-defence mechanisms.

67. Since 1977, the city of Turin has been developing a project, specially designed for young people and adolescents, that combines the services of the city, schools, private enterprise, community associations and young people's organizations. Its objectives are to make institutions and the adult world aware of young people's problems, to create an effective partnership and establish joint crime prevention initiatives, and to pool thoughts, studies and evaluations. The underlying principle is the mobilization of the community to prevent crime among young people.

68. The most successful activities include the training of adults in charge of youth sports teams in the detection of early signs of delinquency, early intervention and referral to the competent services, the systematic rehabilitation and theoretical or technical training of minors in custody and the establishment of a permanent youth observation unit, with university officials and workers from all youth-related sectors, to draft an annual report on the status of young people for use in focusing, planning and evaluating activities.

69. In dealing with "street children", the city of Dakar has tried out some novel initiatives, based on a multisectoral partnership between the local authorities, sports and cultural associations and a large number of district associations. These have included the following: initiatives by the young people themselves in district associations, or even street associations, to promote cleanliness, fight noise pollution and prevent the formation of gangs of bandits; the establishment of 130 economic interest groups to provide jobs, enhance the quality of life and increase urban production of goods and services; a protocol of agreement signed by the city and the Dakar holiday activities organization to establish lasting, global collaboration in the fields of sport, education, culture, youth, urban management and training in socio-economic activities.[13]

70. An experiment that began in the United States in 1991, in seven major cities of Texas, is also innovative. In an effort to enhance the security of city residents and prevent crime, municipal elected officials undertook a planned initiative to share their power with representatives of the community and the business sector and with individual citizens. Together they developed action plans to cover all aspects of crime prevention, from measures aimed at reducing the opportunities for crime to measures to promote social development and strengthen the communities. They paved the way for a new prevention-oriented partnership, anxious and able to adopt strategic planning methods.

71. The city of San Antonio, with its multi-ethnic population of 1 million (56 per cent Hispanic, 36 per cent Anglo-Saxon, 7 per cent Black and 1 per cent Asian), and a reported crime rate of 12,476 offences for every 100,000 inhabitants, is fairly representative of the seven cities. The Greater San Antonio Crime Prevention Commission was created by municipal by-law. It is the first municipal commission in the United States created for the sole purpose of crime prevention. The commission's four priority objectives are: more community awareness and community involvement in prevention activities; establishment of social, educational and recreational services for young people; young offender responsibility; and reduced street violence through the prevention of domestic violence and greater cooperation between the various levels of law enforcement.

72. The rates of violence and crime in Cali, a city of almost 2 million, are very high (for example 87 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants). In 1992, the mayor of Cali set up a programme (DESEPAZ) based on the following principles: crime and violence can be prevented; they have many causes that require many

solutions (social development, social values, law enforcement etc.); and their prevention requires the commitment of all citizens. Once a week, in each of the city's 20 districts in turn, there is a two-hour meeting attended by the mayor, the mayor's staff and community leaders involved in district security committees. The participants discuss all matters related to crime and public security and come up with practical solutions. The process has already led to the creation of numerous programmes of law enforcement, public education and social development.

73. In Moscow, pursuant to a joint study by the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) and the research institute of the Ministry of the Interior of the Russian Federation ("Urban crime prevention in Moscow"), a plan to create an urban crime prevention council was submitted to the mayor of the city.

74. In the Philippines, the 1994 national crime prevention plan aims to strengthen the role of the communities. The national council for peace and order has been given a mandate to ensure close ties with regional and local councils and to foster a participatory and multidisciplinary approach to the analysis and prevention of crime problems.

75. Villa María is a city of about 70,000 people in the province of Córdoba in Argentina. In 1994 a multidisciplinary, partnership-based prevention committee was established and has initiated many programmes for young people.

B. Urban management and planning

76. The initiatives taken under the heading of urban management and planning are designed to promote the idea that all city services and functions may be focused and combined in order to enhance citizens' security, both objectively and subjectively.

77. Many cities, from megalopolises like Mexico City or New York to the smallest urban centres, implement crime prevention programmes that rely on urban management and planning tools. It is true that, where urban zoning and design, public transport and residential or commercial architecture are involved, these tools are the direct responsibility of the city. By tradition, they are also associated almost exclusively with situational crime prevention measures (that is, the reduction of opportunities for crime).

78. Urban planning is, however, increasingly breaking out of this narrow mould as an ecology of urban management takes shape and the close links between the security of citizens, the integration of population groups, economic development and the physical organization of the city are consolidated. As a result, while the effect of urban design in reducing or increasing opportunities for crime is rightly recognized, it is also necessary to consider the complexity of the relationships between urban planning and employment, economic development, social integration, quality of life in neighbourhoods etc., which have an impact on crime rates and people's feelings of security.

79. That is why countries like Belgium, Israel and the Netherlands have launched wide-ranging consultations of urban design experts in order to identify the elements of urban planning likely to promote the feeling of security, site accessibility, institutional presence, commercial management etc. Similarly, England has proposed committing funds in exchange for urban revitalization programmes: the boosting of city centres and the development of urban services in such a way that the enhanced quality of city life counterbalances the burden of unemployment and inactivity and thus the conditions that aggravate crime. France has established a national task force for major urban projects, in the ministry responsible for cities, whereby the State is committed to a sustained effort on all fronts (business, transport, housing, culture and associations, training, employment, leadership etc.) to invest in a dozen locations hit particularly hard by unemployment, idleness, ethnic tensions and crime.

80. In this context, the handful of projects mentioned in the following paragraphs may, a priori, come under urban planning, but they also require the coordination of various municipal services and the participation of persons not involved in municipal management, and sometimes go beyond mere situational prevention and include social development.

81. The Delft anti-crime programme in the Netherlands, which started in 1985, is a remarkable and positive example of a global initiative by urban managers in an effort to prevent crime. In a low-cost housing neighbourhood beset by major problems of crime and degradation of the social fabric, the city of Delft initiated a programme based not only on social measures, but also on better supervision and improved cleanliness of buildings, environmental modifications, conversion of a number of housing units and systematic consultation of the residents.

82. Wolverhampton, in the Birmingham area of England, has 250,000 inhabitants. A steering committee on crime prevention, whose members include elected officials and managers of city services, was set up in 1989 to develop a community safety strategy, establish the Wolverhampton Partnership on Community Safety and Youth Crime and implement projects concerned with the safety of women, victim support, car theft, violence, youth etc.

83. In 1975, the city council of Portland (Oregon), in the United States, having noted that the burglary, robbery and assault rates were three times higher on one commercial avenue (Union Avenue Corridor) than in the rest of the city, adopted a twofold prevention programme: first, the businesses on the avenue were invited to take special protective measures (indoor and outdoor lights switched on at night, installation of alarm systems and posting of preventive messages in shop windows); second, the avenue's lighting system was entirely redesigned. A 1980 programme review indicated that the results were satisfactory.

C. Community-based services

84. Community-based services cover specific initiatives by police forces and justice systems that have a leading role in crime prevention, working with communities and individuals, using a city district approach and collaborating more with the municipal authorities. Police work based on the strategic analysis of problems and on their solution in close cooperation with the populace is more effective in terms of suppression and essential to the success of preventive measures. In justice administration, the use of non-custodial sentences has proved invaluable. The effort to bring certain justice services close to the citizens, particularly through mediation schemes, has been effective in relieving the courts of some of their burden, assisting in the rehabilitation of young offenders and providing better support for victims.

85. One example is the city of Le Havre, which had very high crime rates in its shopping centre and shopping arcade. The thefts, assaults and incidences of rudeness were mainly committed by young people, usually in gangs, who lived in the districts around the shopping centre. On the initiative of the city, the coordinator of the local crime prevention council, the police, justice officials, representatives of the human rights league, traders and the manager of the shopping centre, the "Trait-d'union" association was created in 1991 and now has some 600 members. It is funded by members' contributions, donations or loans of equipment and services, and the local crime prevention council, under the city contract. "Trait-d'union" provides technical and financial support for activities selected and carried out by the young people themselves, a homework assistance service, promotion of sports and cultural activities and assistance with job entry.

86. Despite an increase of more than 15 per cent in crimes against property in the past 20 years, Japan still has an exceptionally low level of crime for an industrialized country. Many cultural factors, including the concept of honour, responsibility to the community and the effectiveness of informal social control, have been advanced to explain this situation. The country's unique system of community policing, however, has also

drawn the attention of foreign observers. Today there are more than 15,000 small neighbourhood police stations in Japan, of which 9,000 are also homes for police officers in rural areas. Rather than concentrate police forces in a few large stations, Japan has chosen to enhance their presence and accessibility. All graduates of the national police academy must serve for several years in these mini-stations. The neighbourhood police officers have wide latitude in their contacts with young offenders. In 1990, 31 per cent of the offenders arrested by them were released after they signed a letter of apology. This is also an attempt to reduce administrative red tape, to maintain the police officers' reputation for generosity and humanity and to reserve the shame of a trial for more serious offences. This system in no way diminishes the effectiveness of the police: in 1989, 96 per cent of the homicides and 76 per cent of the thefts were solved or dealt with.

87. The police service of the city of Newport News, in Virginia, is the first to have applied to all of its activities a work model based on the resolution of community problems. All the police officers have been trained and asked to use a four-stage method on the job each day:

(a) They should identify more specifically the offences brought to their attention (in an effort to avoid being limited to traditional classifications and also to place an offence in its proper context);

(b) When there is a series of offences connected with a certain problem, they should thoroughly analyse the various elements of the problem (collecting all the relevant data from different sources, identifying probable causes and facilitating circumstances etc.);

(c) In collaboration with citizens, traders and various public or private organizations, they should develop and apply solutions that may transcend the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system *per se*;

(d) They should evaluate the impact of action taken and, if necessary, repeat the initiative and revise the programme.

88. France, too, has developed a novel way of regulating social tensions that enables citizens to take responsibility, alongside the judicial system and under its control. The Ministry of Justice and local associations have established neighbourhood justice "houses" and "offices". Members of these associations, whether volunteers or paid staff, are trained in mediation and are legally empowered to deal with the cases assigned to them. Citizens may approach these agencies and, everywhere they have been set up, they have relieved the courts and settled cases faster. They help to avoid aggravating tensions, reduce recidivism and inculcate a feeling of citizenship, which seems all the more important when actions that have no direct impact on public order and are not particularly serious trigger large-scale and costly involvement of the police and the judicial system because there is no alternative. The latter are already overstretched and incidents that, a priori, have no appreciable consequences may be neglected and develop something far more serious and detrimental to public order.

D. Innovative practices

89. In this section, innovative initiatives by the police and justice services in a number of States are examined.

90. The commissions for the protection of minors, established in Portugal, are a particularly interesting example of an innovative approach to crime prevention and the treatment of offenders. The reason for their establishment was twofold: the period when people are most likely to embark on a life of crime is from the beginning of adolescence to the early twenties; the more a person dabbles in criminal activities at an early age, the greater the risk of recidivism. The commissions for the protection of minors are non-judicial institutions, with operational autonomy, competent to deal with matters traditionally referred to the courts. These commissions set out to answer the needs of minors who have been abandoned or maltreated or who

are in serious danger of falling prey to crime or pre-criminal activities. They provide for local, non-judicial and interdisciplinary action and their calls on other institutions are coordinated and flexible. They act with the consent of the parents and in collaboration with the family, the minor's environment and several non-judicial institutions. They endeavour to persuade the minor and his or her family to agree to, and participate in, the diagnosis of the situation and the development and application of remedial measures. They may apply any measures that are within the competence of the juvenile court, except for detention.

91. For a long time, China has used mediation techniques to resolve routine conflicts in the neighbourhood and workplace. It has adopted a law to standardize this practice and extend it to family conflicts, behavioural problems of young people in school and at home, neighbourhood disputes and minor offences. Widespread use of this practice teaches how to resolve conflicts non-violently, effectively helps to prevent crime and violence, opens the way to effective rehabilitation measures and frees the judicial authorities to concentrate on more serious issues.

92. Mediation in criminal matters is another innovative measure, as an alternative to proceedings, that provides the victim with speedy satisfaction and reduces recidivism. Mediation of this type is a means of obtaining reparation for damage prior to any decision to initiate judicial proceedings. The mediator is a third party who acts under the supervision of the judicial authority. At the Ninth Congress, France will present the findings of a questionnaire on this subject that has been distributed to a number of countries. This questionnaire is available from the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations Secretariat.

93. In Tunisia, avoidance of the risks engendered by social maladjustment is the cornerstone of social promotion policy for vulnerable individuals and an essential part of social integration and protection policy. The elements involved in this approach are prevention of failure at school, prevention of crime by assisting integration and improvement of the care system for children with no family support. These general objectives are embodied in targeted programmes designed to improve the living conditions of sectors of the population with specific needs.

94. With regard to the treatment of persons sentenced to imprisonment and the prevention of recidivism, multidimensional initiatives in penitentiary and prison establishments ought to enable prisoners to be reintegrated into society at the end of their sentence. This approach is based on the assumption that the contacts between the prisoner, the prisoner's family and his or her occupational environment can be maintained or re-established well before the release date. It also involves training activities and voluntary work.

95. Public agencies and associations are also involved in this approach. Reintegration is achieved through multi-purpose structures; it involves the family and the socio-occupational environment and implies a partnership between the various public and private institutions.

V. SOME LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

96. The accumulated experience of a few decades in urban crime prevention and evaluation of the results obtained have made it possible to identify certain common characteristics in initiatives that have been successful.

97. In its resolution 1994/20, the Economic and Social Council has set out proposed guidelines for cooperation and technical assistance in urban crime prevention. The proposal is to be finalized by the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice at its fourth session, taking into account the

observations made by States at the Ninth Congress. This document sets out many conditions propitious for urban crime prevention initiatives. The following points are largely based on it, with some additional ideas.

A. A multisectoral, partnership-based approach

98. In order to prepare for this workshop, the members of the working group of Mediterranean States met at Tunis, from 14 to 17 September 1994, and defined these principles of action: a concerted effort by all parties involved in crime prevention locally and nationally, interministerial coordination at all levels, concerted national and local action, awareness of crime prevention among municipal and State agencies, associations and local elected officials in all their activities, decentralization of crime prevention organs and citizens' involvement in crime prevention.

99. The successful implementation of urban crime prevention programmes is generally the result of an effort to satisfy locally identified and defined needs.

100. Given the complexity, variety and interdependence of factors associated with crime, a multidisciplinary approach (bringing together elected representatives, police officers, civil servants, experts in health, education, housing and social services, representatives of community agencies etc.) seems essential.

101. The initiative must be participatory and open to, and respectful of, partners in different circles of society (individuals, associations, community organizations, businesses etc.). This condition is closely linked to that mentioned in the preceding paragraph: on the one hand, the citizens' commitment to all stages of programme delivery will be facilitated if the project responds to their needs; on the other hand, the citizens' influence on the operation of the project will help to ensure that it truly responds to those needs. Equally important is the fact that active participation by citizens will sustain the interest necessary for the success of these initiatives.

102. The city's policy must encourage and support collaboration between citizens, community organizations and businesses and their cooperation with the municipal services. Local elected officials must support this initiative and give it tangible backing through appropriate policies and the public funding they grant.

B. Adoption of a strategy

103. It is desirable for the city to assign to the project persons who are able to use analytical and strategic planning tools and methods and who also have experience in leadership, communication and multidisciplinary work. This assumes the existence of training resources in these fields and the training of the parties concerned in urban crime prevention.

104. Furthermore, any prevention project will benefit from being based on the results of action research (what the French call a "security diagnosis"), involving, in particular: analysis of the local crime pattern, its trends and consequences; identification of the situational conditions that promote this crime; analysis of the social and community dysfunctions which support it; the setting of objectives to be achieved, as listed in a timetable; enumeration of all the existing means of prevention that may help to attain the objectives, together with the cost of implementing them; a choice of methods to be adopted, participants and coordination mechanisms, and the adoption of a schedule; development of a strategy to mobilize participants; preparation of a budget to permit the activities to be implemented with adequate resources; establishment of a proven evaluation process.

C. Indispensable support from the Government

105. The cities must be able to rely on government support, all the more so since, in theory, the State is responsible for ensuring that the policies followed are coherent and since the cities have neither the competence nor the means to perform the following functions: observation and analysis of major trends in society and in crime; retrieval and dissemination of information on the causes of crime and insecurity; development of the best evaluation methods and publication of the achievements shown by such evaluation to be the most effective; cooperation among government authorities, notably in the development of major social policies and in budgeting for activities; training of participants.

106. Furthermore, since a reduction in crime relieves the burden on the judicial and prison system, it seems fair that the cities, as those chiefly responsible for these savings, should derive some benefit, especially when the money is required for investment in new preventive measures.

107. It should be noted, however, that such initiatives have developed satisfactorily only in countries where they are inspired by a global vision or promoted by tangible support.

VI. MECHANISMS FOR COOPERATION

108. The cities and their populations play a strategic role in changing the conditions that generate crime. In partnership, they can tackle the problems posed by social inequality. Through management and planning, they can effectively reduce opportunities for crime. Finally, they can promote and support greater community cohesiveness. Many States have already put their financial and technical resources at the service of action by the cities in these areas. Examples of effective city and neighbourhood crime reduction initiatives are thus available. While this is promising and shows what can be done, adequate financial and technical support will be necessary if such initiatives are to become commonplace.

109. This gives rise to a number of questions: what concrete measures can stimulate the application of national policies to support urban crime prevention efforts throughout the world; what actions will encourage cities to make greater use of proven strategies; and what can be done to support the development of ever more effective strategies.

110. In its resolution 1994/19, the Economic and Social Council appealed for cooperative crime prevention measures among criminal justice agencies and also among other agencies, businesses, associations or the general public. The aim is to ensure the implementation and success of preventive activities at the local, national and international levels thanks, in particular, to the existence and work of national crime prevention councils.

111. Without limiting its potential scope, in the short term this cooperation can and must target three areas of activity:

(a) Exchange of information on the most successful achievements and the tools essential for effective prevention;

(b) The "sensitization" and training of policy makers and those whose task it is to implement policies;

(c) Assistance for the implementation of prevention measures, above all by making technical and financial resources available.

A. A special responsibility for Governments and United Nations agencies

112. Because of the close links between crime reduction in the communities and sustainable development, in human and economic terms, it is the responsibility of Governments to incorporate these recommendations in national priorities.

113. Similarly, in the context of follow-up to the Ninth Congress, preparation of the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) and the desire of the United Nations to provide for sustainable development and human security on a global scale, it is important that the United Nations, in the shape of the Secretariat's Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch, the United Nations Children's Fund, and the United Nations Development Programme and the specialized agencies (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization and the World Bank etc.) adopt, individually and collectively, the necessary measures to support the action of Governments, cities and organizations that wish to introduce urban crime prevention policies.

B. Strengthened international cooperation in crime prevention

114. Ignorance and rumour fuel prejudice and make ethnic, cultural and ideological diversity appear to be a threat, while obscuring its potential richness. The international institutions, striving to encourage mutual understanding, disseminate common values and promote tolerance, can combat this situation by fruitful exchanges on crime prevention. Better cooperation among countries in the same region can be mutually enriching and help to define common citizenship values.

115. International cooperation can also promote the prevention or, at least, better control of practices, such as prostitution, pimping and drug traffic, that are particularly criminogenic.

116. Experiences could be exchanged alongside the cooperation activities of other workshops at the Ninth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. The countries of the working group of Mediterranean States on the prevention of urban crime and violent crime, in the declaration adopted at the meeting held at Tunis in September 1994, stressed the need for a common attitude, exchanges of information and cooperative initiatives in the field of the prevention of urban and violent crime. They also proposed that appropriate technical assistance should be developed and bilateral, regional and international cooperation expanded, particularly through the United Nations system.

117. There is also scope for mobilizing local crime prevention initiatives, training magistrates, improving security in city streets, training the police in the maintenance of public order, neighbourhood policing etc. The need at this stage would be for training courses or sessions for operational experts directly involved in prevention, not theoretical seminars for researchers or political officials.

118. Finally, two practical proposals by the working group of Mediterranean States should be mentioned:

(a) The establishment, at Cairo, of a research and training centre to combat crime;

(b) The establishment, in Malta or Tunisia, of a permanent secretariat of the Mediterranean group of States for the prevention of urban and violent crime.

C. Some examples of cooperation

119. The following list of examples of cooperation is neither exhaustive nor final.

120. National Governments, cities and other organizations can adopt more effective and less expensive prevention strategies if they have access to proven achievements from around the world that can be adapted to their specific problems.

121. In this context, the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control, affiliated with the United Nations, has published *Crime Prevention Strategies in Europe and North America*.[14] An update of this report, which inventories the most promising preventive initiatives in Europe and North America, is being prepared. In addition, in 1994 the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime has prepared an annotated bibliography, organized around the five steps necessary to create safe communities. These instruments offer decision makers and specialists information that is easily accessible, vital and useful. There should be more such tools and they should be widely available.

122. Analysis before selecting and implementing prevention strategies is another area where institutional expertise can be useful. In this regard, the collaborative efforts of the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in the Philippines, and those of UNICRI, in Russia, are convincing examples of this form of cooperation and supplement the substantial work done by a number of industrialized countries.

123. In general, urban policy makers must be made aware of the usefulness and potential of crime prevention, as well as its connection with the sustainable economic and human development of cities and nations. National Governments and their departments responsible for the police, the judicial system and urban policy support must be persuaded of the crucial crime prevention role that cities play. This is why it is essential that training courses for decision makers, chiefs of police and community leaders should also be available to the heads of departments in charge of the police, the judicial system and urban policy support.

124. The European Forum of Local Authorities on Urban Safety is trying to set up a training course on local policies pertaining to the prevention and reduction of urban insecurity in Europe. This is a practical course, designed mainly for prevention coordinators in cities. It covers, in particular, the preparation of a local diagnostic outline of security, programme appraisal, communication, leadership and the coordinator's role. This project answers a need which is growing as cities become leading players in crime prevention and acquire coordinators to promote multidisciplinary work and collaboration among different services and organizations. This course can serve as a basis for similar initiatives in other parts of the world.

125. In view of the high percentage of the world's population living in megalopolises and major cities, the elevated crime rates in those centres and the essential role of cities in the economic development of their nations, there are undoubtedly grounds for giving these matters high priority. In conjunction with UNICRI, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime is seeking to develop a project that will attract the collaboration of key organizations of the United Nations and the major cities. The aim would be to provide technical assistance to some major cities around the world, to help them make a strategic analysis of their crime and prevention programmes. The project could be an agenda item at the 1996 Conference on Urban Settlements (Habitat II) to be held at Istanbul in 1996.

126. Representatives of ten cities in Europe, five in Latin America and three in Canada will assemble in Texas in 1995, with the seven Texan cities that have set up community prevention programmes. The European cities were the first to test approaches of this kind. The Latin American and Canadian cities are on the verge of doing so. The meeting will be a forum for the exchange of experience and will also be of benefit to newcomers. The meeting, organized by the United States National Crime Prevention Council, will produce a report prepared by the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime to guide cities or Governments wishing to invest in crime prevention.

Notes

[1]*Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, 27 August-7 September 1990: Report prepared by the Secretariat* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.91.IV.2), chap. I, sect. C, resolution 1.

[2]Ibid., sect. A, draft resolution 6.

[3]*Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1993, Supplement No. 1* (E/1993/32), chap. I, sect. A, draft resolution VIII.

[4]*World Urbanization Prospects: the 1992 Revision* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.93.XIII.11).

[5]United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report, 1994* (New York, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994).

[6]*Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 3-14 June 1992*, vol. I, *Resolutions Adopted by the Conference* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.93.I.8 and corrigenda), resolution 1, annex I.

[7]*Report of the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Havana, 27 August-7 September 1990: Report prepared by the Secretariat* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.91.IV.2).

[8]M. Cusson, *Croissance et décroissance du crime* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1990).

[9]*Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Milan, 26 August-6 September 1985: Report prepared by the Secretariat* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.IV.1), chap. I, sect. B, annex, para. 4.

[10]See International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, "Reference documents" (Montreal, 1994) (mimeographed).

[11]Marc Leblanc and Marcel Fréchette, *Male Criminal Activity from Childhood Through Youth: Multilevel and Developmental Perspectives* (New York, New York, Springer Verlag, 1989).

[12]Marvin E. Wolfgang, Robert M. Figlio and Thorsten Sellin, *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1972).

[13]"Access to justice in poor districts (Dakar, Abidjan, Niamey, Ouagadougou)", survey from May to September 1994, Urban Management Programme, Regional Office for Africa, Technical Cooperation Division, United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), Nairobi, Kenya.

[14]John Graham, *Crime Prevention Strategies in Europe and North America* (Helsinki, HEUNI publications, 1990).